787 177 bugurigala (2). These three words are sufficient in themselves

> 2. Derived from buguri meaning "dust," and da meaning "to place" or "to write on." Therefore it means "the one who writes on the dust."

to illustrate the process of Sudanization. Although the first comes from a corruption of the Arabic word el tereb (earth), the other two are strictly Bambara in all respects. Besides, the manner in which the natives have altered the practice of geomancy is an illustration of the same process.

771 797 It may therefore be concluded that, in certain respects, Islam has strengthened paganism. For example, the pagans commonly believe that an illiterate geomancer, who is nevertheless an expert in this type of divination, will obtain the same results as a learned marabout who is guided by the book of Er Zenati. As a result, a well-known laturadala enjoys special prestige because of the fact that his prognostications are corroborated by a book, and the same fact accounts in part for the influence of the priests of the brotherhoods.

We are thus able to verify the contacts between Islam and the paganism of the Bambara who are the subject of this study.

693 The historical tales related in the foregoing show the continuous relations which existed between the native chiefs and the pious and renowned marabouts. Whenever a legal dispute arose which could not be settled by pagan arbitration, the last recourse was an appeal for judgment or conciliation to a marabout, who was always sought out and greeted with deference. Mamari, Tonmassa, Ngolo and Ma-n-son's sons all had occasion to make such appeals in some most embarrassing situations.

[334] Further, on occasions when they hoped to bring off some questionable deal or to improve their prospects, the chiefs were also wont to call on a marabout. Mamari did so against the Massa-si Foro-koro and so did Ngolo when he was anxious to make sure that his fame would survive him.

In matters of judicial arbitration, it appears that the marabout derives his authority rather more, perhaps, from his

613 reputation for integrity and impartiality than for his knowledge of the books. In other matters, however, his Moslem esoterism is the quality most highly valued.

771 It is assumed, besides, that the high priests and other
797 persons of note should be initiated into Islamic matters, which seem to be regarded simply as a branch of occultism to which such persons are especially addicted. The Kouloubali, the Dyara, and other lords of the clans of Ségou and Kaarta have practiced Islamism (1) without betraying paganism; on the

1. In the Sudanese manner, of course.

contrary, by adding to it the luster of these foreign mysteries, it can be said that they have "Sudanized" Islam as completely as possible. Neither Mamari nor Ngolo, for example, was in the least embarrassed by his Moslem practices. Both remained high priests of their tutelary idols and simply borrowed (2) the external

2. This borrowing is done with the same awkwardness as that seen when a Black puts on a suit of European clothes which happens to come into his possession. The ease with which an occasional native can adapt it is exceptional.

"manner" of Islam.

The bloodthirsty Dékoro was a Moslem of the same type. He was preparing to perform his ablutions, followed by his faithful blacksmith, at the very moment when he was assassinated by Tonmassa. And the blacksmith was actually carrying one of the satala which father Niany regarded as so compromising.

614 Naturally, the adoption of Islam was never allowed to
797 create any political deviation which might compromise the interests of the clan. That would be treason, and such was the case for Touro-koro Mari. He was put to death not because he was converted to Islam, but because he had enfeoffed himself to El Hadj Omar to such an extent that the clan's independence was threatened.

695 [687] False testimony is punished by confiscation of all goods and arrest of the whole family; part of the goods goes to the victim. If the witness refuses to take the oath, his refusal is evidence against the party that called him. When the parties in a trial disagree, the Fama makes one swear on the Komo, on his platform, or on the tomb of the group's founding ancestor. When the oath has been pronounced, the adversary may efface it by taking the oath in his turn. Then judgment will be suspended; but before 40 days have passed the perjurer must die.

[687] Anyone who attempts to suborn a witness or a child will be punished in the same fashion as the false witness.

The Fama must assign to one or several notables the mission of examing the scene where the disputed incident took place; he may designate a notable to examine and evaluate the damages. Once their mission is accomplished, the notables are subject to the same obligations as the witnesses.

693 695 The role of defense attorney was taken by one of the Fama's advisors, a relative, a griot, a blacksmith, or a favorite of the Fama, he who "speaks best." The accused, or someone from his family, approached the prospective defender and offered him a gift, asking him to intervene in his favor. But the counselor had only the power to save the life of the condemned who had to pay a settlement; all punishments other than death were applied.

625 Police functions were carried out by the sofa and by members of the brotherhoods.

b. Punishments

681 The punishments were, in order of descending importance: death, being put in irons permanently or for a set time, the whip, the fine, confiscation of the family, confiscation of goods, sale to the slave traders.

Murderers and inveterate brigands had their heads cut off; [562] spies had their heads shattered by an axe or were bludgeoned (like dogs). A woman was never executed. The Fama who had a woman put to death would have seen his kingdom disappear.

All those condemned to irons were imprisoned in a hut, immobilized, the feet hobbled by a bar fixed to a ring; the patient